

ference. Vorontsov now blended patience in military policy with decentralized administration, which entailed greater reliance on native officials. He also did much to restore the privileges of tribal leaders, whose powers had eroded under the influence of "muridism," and oversaw completion of the strategic Georgian Military Road joining Tbilisi and the Caucasian Line. Although the Russians had yet to crystallize a coherent military plan, Vorontsov sensibly confined himself to limited, achievable objectives and denied Shamil further victories. In tribute to Vorontsov's measured advance, General Staff historian, D. I. Romanovskii, later wrote that "Russia did not make a single sacrifice or suffer a single casualty that did not advance the great enterprise of pacification of the Caucasus." Yet Romanovskii and others questioned Vorontsov's lack of energy and failure to exploit opportunities.<sup>65</sup>

Generals Freitag and Bariatinskii, in succession, served as executors of Vorontsov's policy on the Left Flank facing the Chechen forests. Each proved a capable and ruthless executor of a cut-and-burn policy to clear the zone as a base for future operations while placing the natives in a state of unquestioning submission. The recapture of Salty in 1847 and Gergebil in 1848 marked the consolidation of Russian gains and foreshadowed greater triumphs to come. Shamil, fearing a decline in his influence, tried to rekindle the fire of muridism by threatening to resign as imam. But by 1852, Chechnia offered no sanctuary from Russian onslaughts, and large numbers of natives were forcibly resettled in areas under Russian control. Vorontsov also organized native militias in Kabarda and elsewhere.<sup>66</sup> Systematic deforestation and the destruction of crops and villages in Chechnia continued in a series of winter campaigns until the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1853.

As Russia's fortunes rose, Shamil's began a corresponding, if at first imperceptible, decline. His military efforts to win Kabarda away from Russian control failed, and political setbacks compounded his frustration. In particular, he alienated much of the mountain population with his attempt in 1846 to have his own son recognized as his heir.<sup>67</sup> The tribes that had accepted Shamil as imam and head of the resistance were not yet willing to grant him dynastic succession. According to the early Soviet Marxist historian, M. N. Pokrovskii, the great successes of the period 1840–45 bred complacency among the mountaineers, and many chieftains began to chafe under the draconian discipline demanded by Shamil.<sup>68</sup> Thus, due to the combined effects of increasing pressure by the Russians and diminishing cohesiveness among the mountain tribes, Shamil was not in a position to take advantage of the increased strain on Russian military resources brought on by the Crimean War. While he received ample encouragement from the Turks and English, who in 1854 shipped him late-model rifles, he hoped in vain for an allied landing in the Caucasus.<sup>69</sup> Shamil did mount one major offensive in 1854, when he assembled a force of 15,000 to 20,000 warriors to drive on the Russian headquarters at Tbilisi. But facing popular resistance by the Christian Georgians and threatened by a Chechen uprising in his rear, Shamil's campaign faltered against the Russians after a bitter defeat near the village of Istisu.<sup>70</sup>

From this point forward in the war, the major protagonist in the Caucasian drama was General Bariatsinskii. A participant in the Dargo campaign in 1845 and a highly successful commander of the Left Flank of the Caucasian Line against the Chechens beginning in 1851, Bariatsinskii believed in aggressive prosecution of the struggle. Much impressed and no doubt influenced by Miliutin's 1854 study titled *Thoughts on the Means for the Establishment of Russian Domination in the Caucasus*, the general selected Miliutin as his chief of staff upon his own appointment as viceroy of the Caucasus in 1856 by Tsar Alexander II.<sup>71</sup> Bariatsinskii intended to subdue the mountaineers by the same relentless pressure he had employed in Chechnia. The general had forests cut and villages and crops burned,<sup>72</sup> leaving the Chechens to choose between death, flight, or settlement on Russian territory. A thorough and systematic Russian campaign of resettlement began in 1855.<sup>73</sup> Bariatsinskii's mandate was to conclude the war quickly and at minimum cost. As War Minister I. O. Sukhozanet reminded the general, "To achieve a significant reduction of [Russian] forces would be a service surpassing glorious victories."<sup>74</sup>

As viceroy, Bariatsinskii enjoyed unprecedented latitude and resources, including two divisions fresh from service against Turkey. Further, his reputation as an aggressive leader bolstered the morale of the troops. Bariatsinskii immediately rearranged the theater's command structure, which had remained in place since the emergence of muridism in the 1830s and was based on a defensive concept.<sup>75</sup> Bariatsinskii's scheme, worked out in detail by Miliutin, consisted of five corps-level commands: two directed against the western Caucasus (beyond the purview of this study) and three against the eastern mountaineers—the Left Wing facing Chechnia and extending from the Terek to the Andi mountain range; the Pricaspian command, embracing all forces in Dagestan; and the Lezgian Line along the southeastern edge of the mountains. Although the geographical responsibilities of the commands changed little, the overall lines of command were made more efficient. In the past, for example, the army of the Left Flank (henceforth the Left Wing) was administratively controlled all the way from Stavropol. Further, the previous dispersal of forces all but ensured the superiority of the enemy in any given sector of the theater. Miliutin's task as chief of staff was to make certain that each command had the means (including logistical support and engineers) to operate independently and the organizational capability to undertake campaigns jointly with other commands.<sup>76</sup>

Bariatsinskii's objective was the complete reduction of Dagestan and the territories shielding it. Comparing the campaign to the "regular siege of a fortress,"<sup>77</sup> Bariatsinskii grasped that the key to the defense of the mountains lay not deep in their interior, the object of failed campaigns of past years, but along the periphery. By capturing the approaches to the mountains and advancing methodically on several axes, Russia could force the collapse of the center.<sup>78</sup> Bariatsinskii tied down minimal forces in garrison duty and sought to occupy only the most strategic positions. The most crucial tasks in this offensive plan fell to the energetic commander of the Left Wing, General N. I. Evdokimov, who would deny the guerrillas any respite in



As viceroy of the Caucasus, Prince Bariatskii directed the conquest of the mountaineers from 1856 to 1859

coming years. In marked contrast to past practice, Evdokimov did not seek to engage the enemy, even along the periphery of the mountains. Rather, he concentrated his forces in clearing the approaches to the mountains and relied on maneuver—made possible by the act of clearing roads—to avoid battles in conditions favoring the guerrillas.<sup>79</sup> By encroaching ever deeper, Evdokimov forced the enemy to come to him. Chechnia remained the focus of Russian operations because it offered, once cleared, the easiest access to

the mountaineers' sanctuaries in Dagestan. Further, the Chechen tribes were no longer unified in their support for Shamil. (Meanwhile, along the Lezgian Line in the south, the accumulation of snow in the mountain passes limited campaigning to the summer months.)<sup>80</sup>

From November 1856 through April 1857, Evdokimov conducted four campaigns into Large Chechnia. Though encountering stiff opposition, not only from the Chechens but from allied Dagestani tribes, he succeeded in clearing the way for actions into Dagestan during the succeeding summer. In March, Evdokimov significantly advanced Russia's position with the establishment of two new forts, Shalin on the Bass River and Khobi-Shavdonskaia at the edge of Dagestan. Thus, behind him lay the entire Chechen plain, which Evdokimov intended to bring under his control as soon as possible, while before him lay his main objective, the Argun ravine that offered passage into the mountains. Hoping to keep his next move a secret, Evdokimov leaked word in the late fall of 1857 that he planned to march on Avtura, in Large Chechnia, to draw Shamil's forces out of Little Chechnia and away from Argun. Accordingly, a Russian column moved in the direction of Avtura, thereby prompting Shamil to assemble forces for its defense. Then, the column abruptly turned along the right bank of the Argun River toward the ravine, where it linked up with a second column under Evdokimov coming from Vozdvizhensk. Together, the columns entered the ravine and proceeded through its thick forests. Part of the force went to Izmail, while the remainder stayed behind to work on road construction and establish defensive positions. Under Evdokimov, the forward column moved along the Sharo-Argun River into the mountains and established Fort Argun near the village of Dacha-Borza. In a single stroke, Evdokimov occupied the Argun ravine with a minimum of bloodshed, and the conquest of Little Chechnia was, for all practical purposes, complete. Evdokimov burned existing villages and resettled about 15,000 Chechens to ensure they could never again be of use to Shamil.<sup>81</sup>

Having gained a clear approach to the mountains and secured his rear, Evdokimov in the summer of 1858 began a series of expeditions deep into the mountains that would result in the final defeat of Shamil. In June, operating as one of three columns converging along different axes, Evdokimov's Chechen detachment advanced along the Chanta-Argun gorge to conduct the main attack. The Dagestan detachment, which in 1857 had captured the strategic position of Burtunai (the new staff headquarters of the Dagestan Infantry Regiment), moved to Machik, while the Lezgian detachment moved through Kanuch, to the inner mountains of Lezgia to carry out the burning and destruction of unsubmissive villages in southern Lezgia. Shamil made valiant attempts to rally the tribes throughout the region to rise in the rear of the Russian columns, but in sad contrast to the 1840s, his appeals drew little response. Lacking victories and looking more and more like a beaten figure, Shamil found his support evaporating.<sup>82</sup> Russian control of the upper Argun valleys and gorges vastly reduced the territory under Shamil's control, leaving him with only part of northern Dagestan and the regions of Andi and Ichkeria. Those tribes west of the



Tbilisi, ca. 1890

Argun, primarily the Chechens and Ingush, had little choice but to capitulate.<sup>83</sup> The decision to do so seemed all the more rational to the inhabitants because it was at last clear that the Russians could guarantee their security against Shamil's retaliation.

With a force of seven and three-quarter battalions, four mountain guns, and a squadron of militia, Evdokimov next advanced along the Argun and surprised the mountaineers, seizing the village of Shata and occupying the Varaden meadow. In accord with standard practice, the troops immediately began cutting a path back through the forest and working on a bridge over the Argun, as well as erecting an intermediate fortification. The mountaineers, aware of the Russian presence, began preparing positions at the stronghold of Akh, about two miles in front of the Russian column. A guerrilla force of about 9,000 gathered there, but when the Russians arrived, the defense collapsed, virtually without a fight, offering compelling evidence of the moral decline of the resistance movement.<sup>84</sup> Within days, Russia controlled the right bank of the Argun and the western portion of Large Chechnia. By late October, the tribes of the mountainous expanse from the Georgian Military Road (running from Tbilisi to Mozdok) to the Sharo-Argun River recognized Russian power.<sup>85</sup>

Shamil's last gasp came later in the summer of 1858 following a revolt by resettled Ingush tribesmen living in the vicinity of Nazran. Ordinarily submissive, the Ingush had been crowded together into a few large settlements, and resentment soon exploded into violence.<sup>86</sup> Shamil crossed the Chanti-Argun River in force hoping to rekindle the lost fervor of his movement but in two attempts was unable to defeat the garrison at Nazran.

For Shamil, there was no recourse but to withdraw and defend his last sanctuaries in the mountains. In February 1859, Evdokimov led a large column to Shamil's capital at Veden, acting without direction from Bariatinskii. Having failed to block the Russian advance along the Argun, Shamil was in no position to rescue Veden, which fell after a two-month siege. After the war, Bariatinskii praised Evdokimov's initiative and aggressiveness:

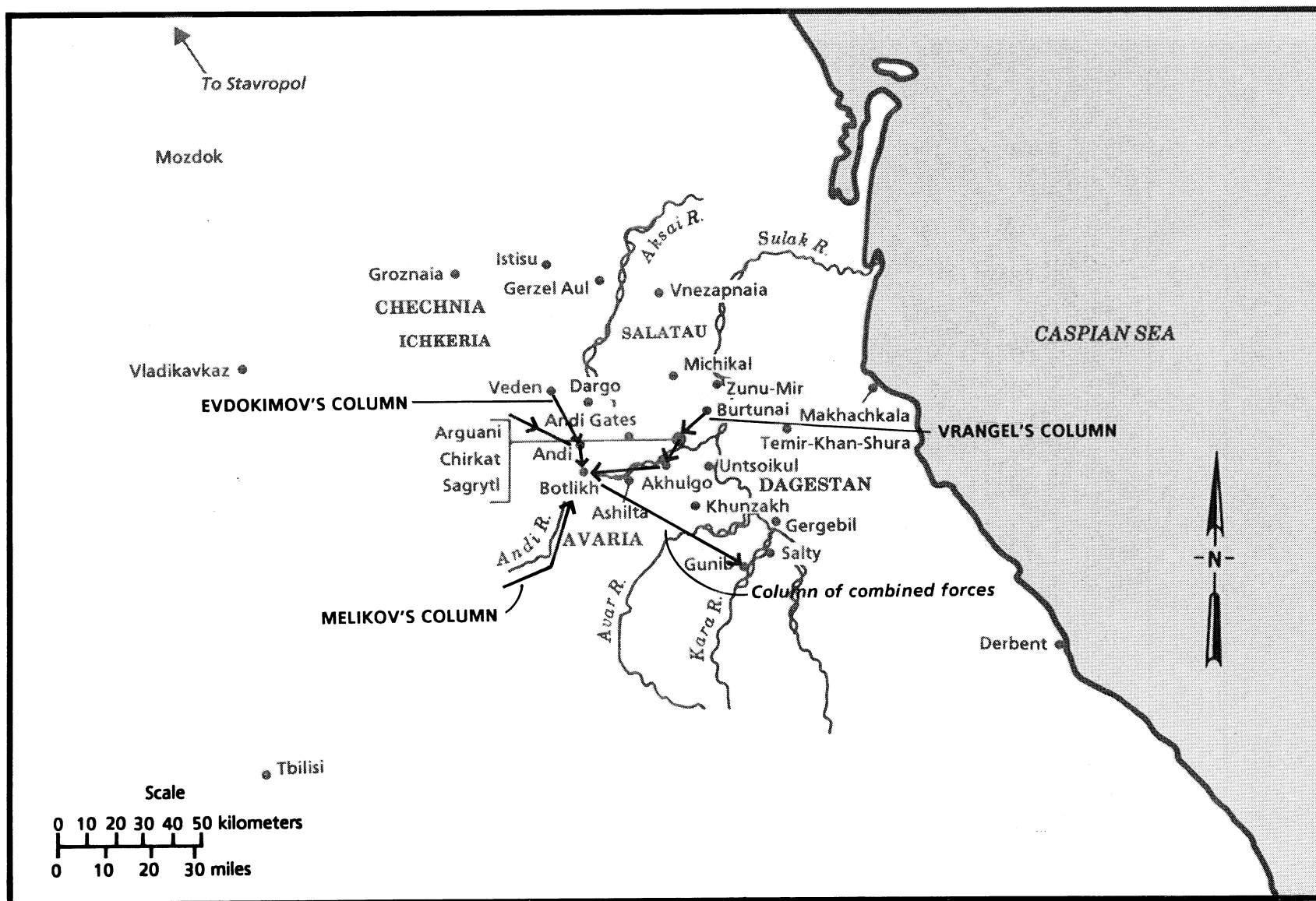
[Evdokimov] never once gave the enemy a chance of fighting where they meant to and where the advantage might have been on their side. The strongest positions held by Shamil and his hordes fell almost without resistance as a result of well-planned movements. . . . Three things—a systematic conduct of the war, the able dispositions of the chief leaders, and the arming of the troops with rifles—reduced our losses in the Caucasus to a minimum, and this, in turn, coupled with the fact that engagements were decided by tactical movements, was the chief cause of our success.<sup>87</sup>

The moral impact of the fall of Veden was as great as the practical result. Entire tribes and many of Shamil's most devoted allies now gave up and offered their submission to Russia.<sup>88</sup> Rostislav A. Fadeev, a Russian officer (who retired as a general and became an outspoken publicist), observed in his own reflections about the war in the Caucasus that Shamil's once fanatical followers lost their faith and became mere "soldiers." No longer willing to fight and die for every inch of ground, they gave more consideration to their families and property. The Russians, as a consequence, were now able to deal with them more in the manner of a conventional foe and decide the prolonged struggle with swift military incursions into Dagestan.<sup>89</sup>

Nevertheless, as of 1859, few other than Bariatinskii could see that the fall of Dagestan was imminent. Most anticipated that the reduction of Shamil's mountain stronghold would unfold over a series of years in the manner of Chechnia.<sup>90</sup> Bariatinskii's plan for the final conquest entailed offensive action against Dagestan from three general directions (see map 6). General Evdokimov's Chechen detachment would play the main role. Consisting of 14,000 men (12 1/2 battalions of infantry, a unit of dragoons, 900 Cossacks, 2 "hundreds" of native militia, 16 field guns, and 8 rocket launchers), Evdokimov's detachment proceeded from Veden along the Andi ridge (via Mt. Arzhi-lam) to Tikhnuntsal and then eastward to the Andi River, where it would await supporting columns.<sup>91</sup>

At the same time, Lieutenant General Baron Vrangeli's advance southward from Burtunai with 9,000 men of the Pricaspian detachment greatly alarmed Shamil, thereby enabling the Chechen detachment to march to the valley of the Andi River virtually unimpeded. Shamil had assembled a considerable force of several thousand warriors in fortified positions on the eastern bank of the Andi. The mountaineers could have made any crossing extremely costly, but Vrangeli's advance foiled their efforts. On 15 July, Vrangeli's column reached the river between Chirkat and Sagrytl and, using bridging materials lugged the entire distance from Burtunai, established a crossing on the 17th. Kazi Muhamed realized that Vrangeli now threatened not only his northern flank but his line of retreat and fled to rejoin his





Map 6. The Russians' linkup and final thrust into Dagestan, 1859



Shamil's surrender to Bariatinskii (as depicted by a Russian artist)

father. Shamil now had no recourse but to withdraw farther east to the Gunib plateau. In his wake, the tribes west of the Avar River rushed to proclaim their submission to Russia.<sup>92</sup>

With the arrival of Prince Levan Melikov's Lezgian detachment (7,000 men) from the south at Botlikh on the Andi River in early August, Bariatinskii had successfully grouped his forces and prepared for the final march to Gunib. Victory in sight, the Russian commanders were besieged by tribal delegations pledging their fealty, and Bariatinskii felt sufficiently confident to undertake an inspection tour of the area before conducting the final assault. In village after village, eager throngs greeted the viceroy of the Caucasus to demonstrate their loyalty. Satisfied with the situation in his rear, Bariatinskii opened the siege of Gunib, which like so many other fortified positions in the mountains offered great advantages to the imaginative defender. A broad stretch of high ground surrounded by rugged cliffs descending at angles as sharp as 45 degrees, Gunib could have been defended almost indefinitely by a reasonably large force. Such was Shamil's misfortune that his loyal following had dwindled to a mere 400 men, who despite the most valiant efforts could not protect the entire defensive perimeter against Russian attack.<sup>93</sup> Though Shamil refused an invitation to surrender, Bariatinskii issued strict orders that the gallant leader of the "murids" be taken alive. Only when Russian forces had broken through to the interior



of his last sanctuary did Shamil (perhaps for the sake of family members present with him) give up the struggle he had led for a quarter of a century.

## *Conclusions*

Among the sources of Russian triumph in the Caucasus, a general superiority in manpower and resources was of indisputable importance. The Russians could not have continued the war in the face of numerous setbacks and overcome a highly motivated and skillfully directed resistance had they not possessed the resources of a great empire. But these assets did not make victory inevitable. Essential to success was the conviction of successive tsars that the strategic significance of the Caucasus made it an objective worthy of the costs in subjugating it. The prolongation of the war never particularly disturbed members of the court, and the popular press, still in its infancy, lacked the stature and confidence (not to mention the freedom under Nicholas I) to raise serious questions about the imperial policy. As Fadeev observed, "Russia became accustomed little by little to the thought that such a situation of affairs was natural and must continue almost forever . . ." <sup>94</sup>

Only by means of well-chosen application of its resources could Russia work its will in the Caucasus. Romanovskii asserts that Russian success was achievable only through a skillful blend of military and nonmilitary methods: "But if it is difficult to imagine the subjugation of the Caucasian tribes without the use of arms, it is also not easy to imagine how and when their subjugation could have been completed if our actions were based solely on arms." <sup>95</sup> The Russians' unfamiliarity with the region and its peoples combined with constant reversals of policy to hamper Russian administration of the Caucasus. As the events of Shamil's rise and decline demonstrate, the war was at heart a struggle for domination of the forested mountain periphery. Shamil understood that control of Chechnia and the Lezgian territories expanded his resources and provided forward bases for his incursions against chieftains siding with Russia. Russian success, therefore, necessarily depended on effective military administration of the border zones. Until the peoples of Dagestan's periphery were either won over or subjugated, effective action against Shamil was impossible.

Ermolov took a gradualist point of view toward the implementation of Russian laws and customs and relied heavily on native elites in his own bureaucracy. His successor, Paskevich, however, systematically purged native officials and Russified the administrative apparatus. General G. V. Rosen, in turn, adopted a middle point of view, supporting the abolition of native customs but accommodating himself to existing realities. <sup>96</sup> Following the complete disintegration of Russian rule outside of Georgia and Stavropol in the 1830s, Nicholas permitted Vorontsov sweeping authority to act as he saw fit. Vorontsov's more competent and relatively humane administration reduced antagonism among tribes already in submission and ensured greater stability in areas to the rear of the Russian forces. Yet even Vorontsov,

though making substantial progress, was unable to find a consistently effective mix of repression and tolerance and of administrative modernization and respect for custom.<sup>97</sup>

In time, the Russians adopted innovative techniques for working their will in the Caucasus. For example, during his tenure as commander of the Left Flank in Chechnia, Bariatinskii deftly attempted to reinforce separatist tendencies among the Chechens to make them less receptive to Shamil's claims of absolute authority.<sup>98</sup> Bariatinskii, like Ermolov long before him, employed a system of native courts for the arbitration of disputes within and among the tribes under Russian control.<sup>99</sup> He also sought to alleviate specific grievances, such as in 1859, when he lifted an imperial ban to allow small numbers of tribesmen to make a pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>100</sup> In addition, the Russians had long made a practice of hiring local informants, although many chieftains became alert to this method and were careful to watch anyone suspected of pro-Russian leanings.<sup>101</sup>

What appeared to many Russians to be the greatest potential instrument of assimilation in the long run was the cultivation of economic relationships, which would give the natives an inducement to accept Russian power and eventually to depend on it. Even in this, however, Russia lacked continuity in its policy. Though Russia forged a stronger relationship with the tribes on the periphery of Chechnia and Dagestan through commercial inducements, the self-sufficient tribes of the interior remained largely unaffected.<sup>102</sup>

The Russians' search for a military means to victory hinged on the recognition of a single, crucial truth: the mountainous eastern Caucasus region could not be reduced in a lightning campaign of destruction but only through years of patient and methodical effort. The refusal of tsars and, therefore, generals to accept such a view led to much wasted time and sacrifice. Moreover, the Russians could not maintain control over any portion of the region without adequate lines of communication, a virtual impossibility given the scarcity of secure roads and the difficult terrain conventional forces must march through. Therefore, from 1846, the development of a comprehensive and workable system for reducing the Caucasus was, in the view of most observers, the key to success.

Pokrovskii departs from this analysis, contending that chance, rather than operational planning, was the primary determinant of the outcome.<sup>103</sup> He notes, for example, that Shamil's rule progressively alienated the independent-minded chieftains of the Caucasus by his absolute insistence on religious discipline among peoples accustomed to observing Islam on their own terms. Relying on a class analysis, Pokrovskii also claims the mountaineer cause was betrayed by the native nobility, to whom Bariatinskii promised restoration of pre-Shamil privileges.<sup>104</sup> Pokrovskii's argument is not without merit, but it devalues the fraying of Shamil's coalition, which occurred in conjunction with his military demise. The authority of the imam was based on a general belief in his infallible leadership. When events shattered that confidence and Shamil lost the physical means to enforce his will, his moral authority evaporated.

To deal with Shamil effectively, the Russians first adapted their tactics, then their strategy. The appearance of the rifle at the very end of the war, which made conventional units substantially stronger, came too late to influence dramatically the course of events in the eastern Caucasus, and in any case, the mountaineers had already procured a few modern weapons of their own.<sup>105</sup> Even the unequivocal superiority of Russian tactical firepower, the product of the combined force of separate military arms and disciplined maneuver, only achieved telling effect when the enemy was forced to wage battle on conventional terms. Yet though painfully accumulated, battle experience improved Russian efficiency. The understanding of the tactical importance of a close column order and the discipline to maintain it under all conditions left Russian forces less susceptible to ambushes, so favored by the mountaineers.

Beyond the tactical level, Bariatinskii's plan for Shamil's final defeat reflected a grasp of objective steps that would lead to a successful strategic decision. The separate but coordinated movements of independent columns in different parts of the theater were carefully calculated toward a greater end. When in July 1859 three columns linked near Botlikh, they had so thoroughly liquidated the opposition in their rear that the leaders of Avaria scurried to capitulate. Under Bariatinskii and Evdokimov, the Russians demonstrated that well-planned maneuver and deception could neutralize the superior mobility of Shamil's guerrillas and deny the mountaineers the initiative.

The cornerstone of the Russian method of conquest was the reshaping of the physical and human environment, enabling Bariatinskii to dictate the terms of combat. Surpassing by far the destructive effects of William Sherman's "march to the sea" in the American Civil War, Russia's scorched earth policy, coupled with a massive campaign of forced resettlement, stripped Shamil of his greatest assets and permanently transformed the central Caucasus. Pokrovskii estimates that 400,000 tribesmen emigrated to Turkey under Russian pressure,<sup>106</sup> and many more resettled within imperial boundaries. Population movement was especially high in the western Caucasus, and as many as half a million Cherkess were eventually driven from their ancestral lands.<sup>107</sup> In their place came Cossacks and other colonists from Russia's interior. The construction of a network of roads and, ultimately, a railroad brought the Caucasus into regular communication with the empire. In such a way, Russia came to dominate the land if not the spirits of the natives who remained. Popular uprisings against Russian rule during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 and again following the Revolution of 1917 served as a reminder that conquest did not necessarily mean final assimilation.

The Caucasian experience left only a modest legacy for the Russian Army. From an institutional perspective, no systematic effort was made to preserve and disseminate the lessons of the Caucasian theater, which had little relevance to European warfare. Even Miliutin, who served as war minister from 1861 to 1881 and whose own analysis of the war proved so vital, subsequently became preoccupied with modernization of the Russian

Army in a desperate effort to achieve parity with Germany and Austria. Furthermore, the long and bloody struggle in the Caucasus soiled many more reputations than it enhanced. Yet as historian John Sheldon Curtiss contends, the neglect of the Caucasian experience may have been costly. Years of combat against guerrilla fighters in the mountains "taught the commanders there to stress mobility and agility rather than parade-ground technique and to value soldiers with initiative and élan."<sup>108</sup>

Some veterans of the Caucasus were able to transfer the lessons of the war to the increasingly active theater in Central Asia. Further, the appointment of Miliutin as war minister in 1861 ensured that valuable knowledge would not only survive but would be employed. During and after Miliutin's tenure, articles and full histories devoted to the Caucasian War achieved wide circulation, although it would be fair to say that the average Russian officer probably did not read them. In any case, Russia remained preoccupied with the greater threat of warfare on the European continent, and the events of the Caucasus did not become an essential part of the army's institutional memory. Within two generations, vital tenets of irregular and mountain warfare would have to be learned anew.

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# Notes

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## Chapter 1

1. For a detailed account of the early years of Russian involvement in the Caucasus, see N. E. Dubrovin, *Istoriia voiny i vladychestva russkikh na Kavkaze*, 4 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1887); and V. Potto, *Istoricheskii ocherk kavkazskikh voyn ot ikh nachala do prisoedineniia Gruzii* (Tiflis, 1899). For a good, brief historical sketch of Russian imperial activity in the Caucasus until the revolution, see Firuz Kazemzadeh, "Russian Penetration of the Caucasus," in *Russian Imperialism: From Ivan the Great to the Revolution*, ed. Taras Hunczak (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1974), 239–63. Unfortunately for our understanding of the Caucasian War, we are almost entirely dependent for data upon Russian sources, some of which have not yet become available to Western scholars.
2. D. I. Romanovskii, "General Fel'dmarshal Kniaz' Aleksandr Ivanovich Bariatinskii i kavkazskaia voina, 1815–1879 gg.," *Russkaia starina*, no. 2 (1881):290; and D. A. Miliutin, *Opisanie voennykh deistvii 1839 goda na severnom Dagestane* (St. Petersburg, 1860), 11.
3. M. I. Shishkevich, "Pokorenie Kavkaza, Persidskaia i kavkazskaia voiny," in *Istoriia russkoi armii i flota*, vol. 6 (Moscow, 1911–13), 53.
4. S. K. Bushuev, *Bor'ba gortsev za nezavisimost' pod rukovodstvom Shamilia* (Moscow: Akademiia nauk soiuza S.S.R., 1939), 98–99. R. A. Fadeev contends in "Shest'desiat' let Kavkazskoi voiny," part of his *Sobranie sochinenii R. A. Fadeeva*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1889), 18, that Ermolov never had in excess of 45,000 men under his control. In his own notes on the war, published in *Zapiski A. P. Ermolova, 1798–1826* (Moscow: Vysshiaia shkola, 1991), Ermolov listed his forces in 1816 as follows: 19th and 20th Infantry Divisions (30,336 men), reserve brigade and 3 grenadier regiments (7,024 men), garrison regiments and battalions (5,920 men), the Nizhegorod Dragoon Regiment (711 men), line Cossack regiments (5,302 men), Don Cossack regiments (5,237 men), Astrakhan Cossack regiments (1,634 men), and artillery (48 battery guns, 60 light guns, and 24 horse Cossack guns).
5. A. Zisserman, "Kriticheskie zametki," *Russkii arkhiv*, no. 2 (1885):567.
6. "Predpisanie gen.-adiut. kn. Bariatinskogo nachal'niku grazhdanskogo upravlenii na Kavkaze i za Kavkazom, gen. Kn. Bebutova, ot 25-go ianvaria 1857 goda," in *Akty sobrannye Kavkazskoi arkheograficheskoi kommissiei*, vol. 11, pt. 3 (Tiflis, 1893), 187–90.
7. Kazemzadeh, "Russian Penetration of the Caucasus," 256; and Bushuev, *Bor'ba gortsev za nezavisimost'*, 110–12, 124–29. See also M. D. Bagirov, *K voprosu o kharaktere dvizheniia miuridizma i Shamilia* (Moscow: Gosizdat Politlit, 1950).
8. G. H. Bolsover, "David Urquhart and the Eastern Question, 1833–37: A Study in Publicity and Diplomacy," *Journal of Modern History* 8 (December 1936):444–67; Paul Henze, "Circassia in the Nineteenth Century: The Futile Fight for Freedom," in *Turko-Tatar Past, Soviet Present*, ed. Ch. Lemerrier-Quelquejay (Paris, 1986), 193–94; and N. S. Kiniapina, M. M. Bliev, and V. V. Degoev, *Kavkaz i sredniaia Aziia vo vneshnei politike Rossii, Vtoraia polovina XVIII-80-e gody XIX v.* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1984), 138–58.

9. L. Hamilton Rhinelander, "Russia's Imperial Policy: The Administration of the Caucasus in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, nos. 2—3 (1975):226—27.
10. E. Willis Brooks, "Nicholas as Reformer: Russian Attempts to Conquer the Caucasus, 1825—1855," in *Nation and Ideology: Essays in Honor of Wayne S. Vucinich* (Boulder, CO: 1981), 229; Kazemzadeh, "Russian Penetration of the Caucasus," 255—63; Ermolov, *Zapiski A. P. Ermolova*, 304—85; and John F. Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1908), 124. Baddeley places the blame for this on Ermolov.
11. D. I. Romanovskii, *Kavkaz i kavkazskaia voina* (St. Petersburg, 1860), 212—16; and John Sheldon Curtiss, *The Russian Army Under Nicholas I* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1965), 153—54.
12. N. Sh., "General Veliaminov i ego znachenie dlia istorii kavkazskoi voiny," in *Kavkazskii sbornik*, vol. 7 (Tiflis, 1883), 4; N. E. Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina v tsarstvovanie imperatorov Nikolaia I i Aleksandra II (1825—1864 g.)*, in the series *Ot Petra Velikogo do nashikh dnei*, pt. 4, bk. 2, gen. ed. Lieutenant General Leer (St. Petersburg: Izdanie glavnogo upravleniia voenno-uchebnykh zavedenii, 1896), 16; V. I. Ivanenko, *Grazhdanskoe upravlenie Zakavkazem ot prisoedineniia Gruzii do namestnichestva Velikogo Kniazia Mikhaila Nikolaevicha* (Tbilisi, 1901), 161; and A. P. Scherbatov, *General-Fel'dmarshal Kniaz' Paskevich. Ego zhizn' i deiatel'nost'* (St. Petersburg, 1891), 246—50.
13. "O fortifikatsionnoi oborone Zakavkazskogo kraia ustroistvom dorog i voobshche o predpriiatiiakh v stroitel'noi chasti," in *Akty sobrannye*, vol. 8, 379.
14. Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina*, 16.
15. Curtiss, *The Russian Army*, 157; "Otnoshenie gr. Chernysheva k baronu Rozenu, ot 26-go fevralia 1835-go goda," in *Akty sobrannye*, vol. 8, 353—54; and Romanovskii, *Kavkaz i kavkazskaia voina*, 222.
16. "Otnoshenie baron Rozena K gr. Chernysheva, ot 12-go noiabria 1831 goda," in *Akty sobrannye*, vol. 8, 340—41.
17. Fadeev, "Shest'desiat' let kavkazskoi voiny," 17.
18. Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina*, 12.
19. Miliutin, *Opisanie voennykh deistvii*, 16.
20. Bushuev, *Bor'ba gortsev za nezavisimost'*, 92; and Miliutin, *Opisanie voennykh deistvii*, 7—17. Miliutin estimates the entire Chechnian population at between 80,000 and 100,000.
21. Curtiss, *The Russian Army*, 161.
22. Miliutin, *Opisanie voennykh deistvii*, 45—47; and Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina*, 116.
23. Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina*, 116—17.
24. Ibid., 118.
25. As translated in Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest*, 319—20. The original text appears in Miliutin, *Opisanie voennykh deistvii*, 62—63.
26. Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina*, 118; and Miliutin, *Opisanie voennykh deistvii*, 64.
27. Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina*, 120; and Miliutin, *Opisanie voennykh deistvii*, 70—75.
28. Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest*, 325; and Miliutin, *Opisanie voennykh deistvii*, 80.
29. Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest*, 328.
30. Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina*, 124.
31. Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest*, 330.
32. Miliutin, *Opisanie voennykh deistvii*, 99—100.
33. Miliutin, *Vospominaniia* (Tomsk, 1919); reprint (Newtonville, MA: Oriental Research Partners, 1979), 226.



34. Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina*, 125—26; and Miliutin, *Opisanie voennykh deistvii*, 102—3.
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36. Miliutin, *Opisanie voennykh deistvii*, 114—21; and Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina*, 130.
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38. N. Okolnichii, "Perechen' poslednikh voennykh sobytii v Dagestane," pt. 3, *Voennyi sbornik*, no. 3 (1859):47.
39. Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest*, 365—67.
40. Ibid., 369—70.
41. M. N. Pokrovskii, "Zavoevanie Kavkaza," in *Istoriia Rossii v XIX veke*, vol. 5 (St. Petersburg, 1907—11), 326.
42. A. A. Veliaminov, "Zamechanie na pis'mo glavnokomanduiushchego deistvuiushchei armiei k voennomu ministru ot 27 Iulia 1832 goda," in *Kavkazskii sbornik*, vol. 7 (Tiflis, 1883), 142—43; and Romanovskii, *Kavkaz i kavkazskaia voina*, 229—30.
43. D. A. Skalon, *Glavnyi shtab: istoricheskii ocherk vzniknoveniia i razvitiia v Rossii general'nogo shtaba v 1825—1902 gg.*, in the series *Stoletie voennogo ministerstva, 1802—1902*, vol. 3, pt. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1910), 251. See also A. Kersnovskii, *Istoriia russkoi armii*, pt. 2 (1814—81) (Belgrade, 1934), 348—49.
44. Bushuev, *Bor'ba gortsev za nezavisimost'*, 99—100; and Kazemzadeh, "Russian Penetration of the Caucasus," 259—60. See also Skalon, *Glavnyi shtab*, 252.
45. Miliutin, *Vospominaniia*, 305; and E. Willis Brooks, "D. A. Miliutin: Life and Activity to 1856," dissertation, Stanford University, 1970, 78. See also Bushuev, *Bor'ba gortsev za nezavisimost'*, 99—100.
46. Miliutin, *Vospominaniia*, 305; and Brooks, "D. A. Miliutin," 78—79.
47. M. Ol'shevskii, "Kavkaz s 1841 po 1866 god," pt. 4, *Russkaia starina*, no. 7 (1893):98; and Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest*, 268—70.
48. "Gornaia artilleriia," *Voennaia entsiklopediia*, vol. 8 (St. Petersburg, 1912), 403—4.
49. Bushuev, *Bor'ba gortsev za nezavisimost'*, 97; A. Rzhevskii, "1845-i god na Kavkaze," in *Kavkazskii sbornik*, vol. 6 (Tiflis, 1882), 231. Rzhevskii provides a transcript of Nicholas' instructions to the war minister on 235—39. For a good discussion of the powers vested in the viceroy, see L. Hamilton Rhineland, *Prince Michael Vorontsov: Viceroy to the Tsar* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1990), 141—43.
50. L.—D.G., "Pokhod 1845 goda v Dargo," *Voennyi sbornik*, no. 7 (1859):5.
51. Ibid., 9.
52. Ibid., 10.
53. Ibid., 25—26; and Rzhevskii, "1845-i god na Kavkaze," 299—300.
54. Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest*, 389.
55. Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina*, 215.
56. Ibid., 218.
57. For a vivid account, see Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest*, 396—402. Also, see Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina*, 221.
58. L.—D.G., "Pokhod 1845 goda," 44—47; and Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina*, 219.
59. L.—D.G., "Pokhod 1845 goda," 47—48.
60. Ibid., 55—56; and Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina*, 219.
61. L.—D.G., "Pokhod 1845 goda," 56.
62. Shishkevich, "Pokorenie Kavkaza," 91. Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest*, 410, claims

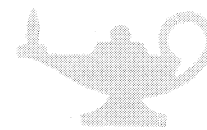
- casualty totals of 195 officers and 3,433 men. Kersnovskii, *Istoriia russkoi armii*, 344—45, gives casualty totals of 3 generals, 141 officers, and 2,831 men.
63. Rzhnevskii, "1845-i god na Kavkaze," 231.
  64. Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina*, 221.
  65. Romanovskii, *Kavkaz i kavkazskaia voina*, 382; and Central State Historical Archive, St. Petersburg, Russia, fund 1100 (Fadeev), 1860, index 1, no. 39, sheet 3. This document is a letter from General E. V. Brimmer to General R. A. Fadeev.
  66. Zisserman, "Kriticheskie zametki," 562; Skalon, *Glavnyi shtab*, 284; Bushuev, *Bor'ba gortsev za nezavisimost'*, 139; and Shishkevich, "Pokorenie Kavkaza," 93.
  67. Fadeev, "Shest'desiat' let Kavkazskoi voyny," 36—37.
  68. Pokrovskii, "Zavoevanie Kavkaza," 336.
  69. John Sheldon Curtiss, *Russia's Crimean War* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1979), 414—19.
  70. Zisserman, "Kriticheskie zametki," 565.
  71. Brooks, "D. A. Miliutin," 146; and Romanovskii, "General Fel'dmarshal Kniaz'," 279. Romanovskii credits Bariatinskii with great originality on these matters and suggests that the basic scheme was the general's own. Zisserman makes the same point forcefully in "Po povodu zapisok M. Ia. Ol'shevskogo," *Russkaia starina*, no. 1 (1885):124. For more of the same, see Ivan Kravtsov, "Kavkaz i ego voenachal'niki," "Russkaia starina", no. 6 (1886):566. Kravtsov also praises Bariatinskii for his choice of Evdokimov, the son of a peasant, as a field commander. For an account of Bariatinskii's prior service, see the memoirs of Prince Gagarin, "Vospominaniia o fel'dmarshale kniaze Aleksandr Ivanovich Bariatinskii," *Russkii vestnik*, no. 8 (1888).
  72. Zisserman, "Kriticheskie zametki," 562.
  73. Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina*, 326—29.
  74. "Pis'mo voennogo ministra, gen. adiut. Sukhozaneta, k gen. adiut. kn. Bariatinskomu, ot 29 iunია 1857 goda," *Akty sobrannye*, vol. 12, pt. 3, 199—200.
  75. Fadeev, "Shest'desiat' let Kavkazskoi voyny," 41, 43; A. L. Zisserman, *Feldmarshal Kniaz' Aleksandr Ivanovich Bariatinskii 1815—1879*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1890), 88.
  76. Ibid., 84, 88—90; and Forrestt Miller, *Dmitrii Miliutin and the Reform Era in Russia* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt, 1968), 20—31.
  77. Fadeev, "Shest'desiat' let Kavkazskoi voyny," 46. Veliaminov made the same observation in 1828. See Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest*, 112; and "1843-i god na Kavkaze," *Kavkazskii sbornik*, vol. 8 (Tiflis, 1884), 335—97.
  78. Fadeev, "Shest'desiat' let Kavkazskoi voyny," 46—47.
  79. Ibid., 48; and Zisserman, *Fel'dmarshal kniaz'*, vol. 2, 95—98.
  80. Fadeev, "Shest'desiat' let Kavkazskoi voyny," 48.
  81. "Pis'mo gen. adiut. kn. Bariatinskogo k voennomu ministru, gen. adiut. Sukhozanetu, ot 7-go fevralia 1858 goda," *Akty sobrannye*, vol. 7, pt. 3, 216; Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina*, 329—32; Fadeev, "Shest'desiat' let Kavkazskoi voyny," 53—55; and Romanovskii, *Kavkaz i kavkazskaia voina*, 428—29.
  82. "Otnoshenie gen.-adiut. kn. Bariatinskogo k upravliaiushchemu voennym ministerstvom, gen. adiut. kn. Vasilchikovu, ot 29-go iulia 1858 goda," *Akty sobrannye*, vol. 12, pt. 3, 243; and Fadeev, "Shest'desiat' let Kavkazskoi voyny," 56—57. For a good account of the capture of Salatau, see V. Soltan, "Zaniatie Salatavii v 1857 godu," in *Kavkazskii sbornik*, vol. 8 (Tiflis, 1884), 335—97.
  83. Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest*, 461.
  84. Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina*, 332—33.

85. Fadeev, "Shest'desiat' let Kavkazskoi voyny," 59.
  86. Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest*, 471.
  87. Ibid.
  88. Ibid., 472; Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina*, 348. See also Apolon Shpakovskii, "Zapiski starogo kazaka," *Voennyi sbornik*, no. 2 (1874):365—66.
  89. Fadeev, "Shest'desiat' let Kavkazskoi voyny," 66—67.
  90. Ibid., 68. See also *Akty sobrannye*, vol. 12, pt. 3, 241—48, for a transcript of Bariatinskii's plan, which does not specifically foresee the collapse of Shamil but does presume rapid advances are possible.
  91. Ibid., 68—69; and Dubrovin, *Kavkazskaia voina*, 352—60.
  92. Ibid.
  93. Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest*, 476—77; and Fadeev, "Shest'desiat' let Kavkazskoi voyny," 82—83.
  94. Fadeev, "Shest'desiat' let Kavkazskoi voyny," 1.
  95. Romanovskii, *Kavkaz i kavkazskaia voina*, 366.
  96. Brooks, "Nicholas as Reformer," 234—38.
  97. Ibid., 248—49.
  98. Zisserman, "Fel'dmarshal kniaz' Aleksandr Ivanovich Bariatinskii 1815—1879," *Russkii arkhiv*, no. 1 (1888):192—93. See also *Akty sobrannye*, vol. 12, pt. 3, 248—64.
  99. Romanovskii, "General Fel'dmarshal Kniaz'," 283—84.
  100. "Otzyv glavnokomanduiushchego Kavkazskoi Armiei k. Ministru inostrannykh del," 19 November 1859, *Akty sobrannye*, vol. 12, pt. 1, 167—71.
  101. V. I. Pisarev, "Metody zavoevaniia adygeiskogo naroda tsarizmom v pervoi polovine XIX v.," in *Istoricheskie zapiski*, vol. 9 (Moscow: Akademiia Nauk, 1940), 163; and Pokrovskii, "Zavoevanie Kavkaza," 327.
  102. Pisarev, "Metody zavoevaniia," 163; and Romanovskii, *Kavkaz i Kavkazskaia voina*, 357.
  103. Pokrovskii, "Zavoevanie Kavkaza," 325.
  104. Ibid.
  105. Zisserman, *Fel'dmarshal kniaz'*, vol. 2, 185. Bariatinskii reports this fact in a letter to War Minister N. O. Sukhozanet in October 1859.
  106. Pokrovskii, "Zavoevanie Kavkaza," 339. See P. Berzhe, "Vyselenie gortsev s Kavkaza," *Russkaia starina*, no. 1 (1882):161—76; no. 2 (1882):337—63; no. 10 (1882):1—32. For details of the war in the Transkuban region, see a series of articles by P. P. Korolenko, "Transkubanskii krai," *Voennyi sbornik*, nos. 2, 4—9 (1893).
  107. W. E. D. Allen and Paul Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields: A History of the Wars on the Turco-Caucasian Border, 1828—1921* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 107. Data on resettlements or exiles are rough, and such estimates may be inflated or include a variety of tribal groups. At the peak period, 1858—65, 493,000 persons relocated to Turkey through the Black Sea ports. See V. G. Gadzhiev, "Narody severnogo Kavkaza vo vremia i posle Krymskoi voyny. Porazhenie gortsev pod predvoditel'stvom Shamilia," in *Istoriia narodov Severnogo Kavkaza: Konets XVIII V.—1917 g.*, ed. A. L. Narochnitskii (Moscow: Nauka, 1988), 207.
  108. Curtiss, *The Russian Army*, 174.
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